Country: Brazil Leader: Bolsonaro

Title of Speech: Bolsonaro's speech at Araçatuba

Date of Speech: August 23, 2018

Category: Campaign

Grader: Caio Emanuel Marques **Date of grading:** January 23, 2019

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0.5

O A speech in this category uses few if any populist elements. Note that even if a speech expresses a Manichaean worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

Pluralist Populist The discourse does not frame issues in It conveys a Manichaean vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a moral terms or paint them in black-andstrong moral dimension) and dualistic white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to (everything is in one category or the other, focus on narrow, particular issues. The "right" or "wrong," "good" or "evil") The discourse will emphasize or at least not implication—or even the stated idea—is that eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable there can be nothing in between, no fencedifferences of opinion. sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language. "With us there will not be the political criminality we see today because we will not give them public money" "we need someone to approach democratic countries and not Mercosur countries because of an ideologic question. We need someone who understands the ideas of free market"

The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing **cosmic proportions** to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time.

Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of "history." At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to **national and religious leaders** that are generally revered.

The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.

No important historical references made

Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the "voluntad del pueblo"; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.

Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable "will." The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.

"everyone here believes in the future of Brazil"

The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the "oligarchy," but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.

"We here do not want Brazil to approach what has been happening to Venezuela, which was one of the richest countries in The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.

South America, and from where people are fleeing it due to the dictatorship" "we cannot take another mandate of either PT or PSDB. We need someone who respects the Brazilian family values"

Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as "revolution" or "liberation" of the people from their "immiseration" or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.

"yes, we are different from these who have governed us from the past 20 years"

The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of "differences" rather than "hegemony."

Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.

Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.

"we represent a new form of politics, we say what Brazil needs to hear, we show that Brazil has a way of getting better" "we are one people, one only nation. Together we can make Brazil a great nation again"

Overall Comments (just a few sentences): Despite many populist ideas being present in his speech, they are used to emphasize the importance of Brazil to the Brazilian people and how the government cannot fail the people. This speech is basically a repetition of many speeches he gave around the country, with references to some things he would like to see changing in the nation and trying to please his voters, as well as convincing people to vote for him. However, as it is common with this leader, we can see that he embodies the evil minority into the former leaders that preceded him, and blames them for everything that has been going wrong with the country.